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What every American should know

New York

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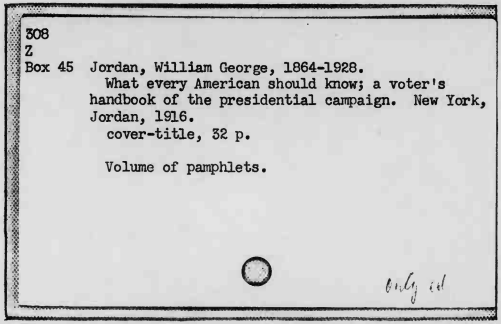

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WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW

A Voter's Hand-Book of the Presidential Campaign

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BY WILLIAM GEORGE JORDAN

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WILL YOU DO YOUR PART?

THE success of the present Presidential campaign and the election of Mr. Hughes is largely dependent on the interest and co-operation of individual voters, doing all in their power to make victory assured. You can do your part if you will.

Send one dollar for six copies of "What Every American Should Know" to mail to friends who need strengthening in their faith or conversion to the Republican principles and who need to have their eyes opened to the shame, failure, extravagance and inefficiency of the Democratic administration. One hundred copies will be sent you for fifteen dollars. Special rates on larger quantities will be given on application. The time is short; the need of faithful co-operation is great; will you do your part?

"America First and America Efficient"

THESE words, spoken by Mr. Hughes, seem the touchstone by which the vital issues of the campaign can be tested and by which the relative merits of the two parties and their candidates to transform this phrase into an actuality of performance can be determined. "America First and America Efficient" means, as Mr. Hughes expressed it in his speech accepting the Republican nomination:

> "I mean America conscious of power, awake to obligation, erect in self-respect, prepared for every emergency, devoted to the ideals of peace, instinct with the spirit of human brotherhood, safeguarding both individual opportunity and the public interest, maintaining a well-ordered constitutional system adapted to local self-government without the sacrifice of essential national authority, appreciating the necessity of stability, expert knowledge and thorough organization as the indispensable conditions of security and progress; a country loved by its citizens with a patriotic fervor permitting no division in their allegiance and no rivals in their affection—I mean America first and America efficient."

"America First and America Efficient" means that a united country where all its citizens, whether citizens by birth or by adoption, are inspired by a common interest, a common love of country, and a common loyalty, realizing that the good of all can come only when we have the longing for the good of each manifest in word and act, realizing that the emphasis on class distinction or sectional distinction or distinction of any kind save that of loyalty to whatever is best in American ideals and purpose means a divided America, not an "America First and Efficient."

✣

We need the tonic inspiration of a great new purpose, a great new ideal, a great new consecration, a great new vision of a higher, finer, freer, truer America. We do not need more wealth, more territory, more power, so much as we need the spiritualizing of what we have, a finer sense of justice, truth, honor and real brotherhood as a fact, not a mere phrase. We need more statesmanship in our government—less politics; more guidance by an instinctive rule of principle and right, no matter what the cost, rather than by the misleading lights of mere expediency and opportunism.

How does the present administration measure up to this standard of "America First and America Efficient." With sincere regret it must be said that it falls far short. With the tremendous new expense burdening the American people in the upbuilding of its army and navy, there should have been special retrenchment, as the prudent housekeeper cuts down everything that is possible to meet unexpected demand. Instead of this we have had reckless extravagance, the public purse put at the call of party patronage. It has not been either "America First" or "America Efficient"—it has been party first, patronage first, and America deficient. Has the long trail of broken party promises been in the spirit of the honor and probity that alone will make America first? Were our citizens protected? Was America either first or efficient here?

✣

The Republican Party has behind it in its life of sixty years, in forty-four of which it administered the affairs of the nation, been the party of progress and prosperity, the great dominating policies that have led the nation have for the most part belonged to it; it has protected American labor and American industries; it has had a strong, firm foreign policy that has kept us free from entanglements, safeguarded our citizens and made nation and people respected and honored throughout the world; it has never been a sectional party, it has thought and planned nationally for the whole country.

The Republican Party rests on its record. Its platform is strong, direct, wise, practical and practicable; its pledges will be kept. Both platforms are here given, dissected, classified and indexed for your study and comparison. Its presidential candidate has been tried, tested and proved in the fire of experience in public life and emerged without a mark or a scar. Mr. Hughes has a clear head and a firm hand; he weighs all evidence, and having once decided, hews close to the line, letting the chips fly where they will; he has coolness, calmness, courage. His words are ever twin to his acts; his fairness and firmness are known to all who have studied his record. He is a real executive and has a tried and able associate in the vice-presidential candidate, Charles W. Fairbanks, and both stand squarely for "America First and America Efficient."

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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Watchful Woodrow Waiting Wilson

What Watchful Waiting Has Cost America

WATCHFUL WAITING has cost America much during the present administration. Mexico had 50,000 Americans living south of the Rio Grande, with about one billion dollars of American money invested there. These Americans, so long as they behaved themselves, had a perfect right to be there; they had a right to expect and demand protection of their government. But they did not get it. They were told they had no right to be there, and ordered to leave. No effort has been made by the administration to avenge or to demand indemnity for an American murdered on Mexican soil. The full measure of the horrors unspeakable and of the number killed we do not know; the State Department refused figures even to the Senate.

With the inane cry "He kept us out of war" still ringing in our ears we learn that it has cost already over $100,000,000 not to catch Villa; our expenses at the border and in Mexico are running from fifteen to twenty million dollars a week, and Mr. Carranza now wants from one to two hundred million dollars as a salve for Mexico's humiliation caused by our "invasion." Watchful waiting has fomented evils; it has cured none.

The first big duty of the nation was to protect its citizens in life, person and property—at any cost. Everything else should be second to this; this was made second or third or last to everything else. The morals of Huerta and an ideal constitutional government for Mexico were microscopic trifles in comparison.

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Watchful waiting as a policy of opportunism cost us dearly in our handling of foreign affairs, as has been detailed on another page. We were humiliated abroad and at home; those of us through whose body ran the red blood of real Americanism and love of our country were stunned and had but "to watch and to wait" for better things. While Europe wondered at our foreign policy what could Latin America think of our Mexican policy? They could not believe it was mere continuous mismanagement; they could only understand it as some subtle plan to annex Mexico.

Watchful waiting on the great issue of preparedness. In December, 1914, the President in his message to Congress, referring to preparedness, he said: "I turn away from the new need to discuss it; we shall not alter our attitude toward it because some among us are nervous and excited. Let there be no misconception; the country has been misinformed; we have not been negligent of national defense." This was while war was raging in Europe and more than a year after the Mexican situation had grown seriously acute and menacing to American lives and property.

✤

It was only in the spring of 1916 that the nation was roused by the splendid missionary work of ex-President Roosevelt and addresses and preparedness parades throughout the country. The Democratic administration asleep at the switch heard a noise, rubbed its eyes and then hurried to arrange a preparedness scheme over which it is actually boasting today as an administration triumph. On February 2, 1916, in his speech at Kansas City, the President said naively: "I have not men enough to prevent the bandits from coming across the border of Mexico into the United States. It has been a very mortifying circumstance indeed." Who was responsible for this "mortifying circumstance"?

Watchful waiting was responsible for the action of Congress in passing an eight-hour day at the hold-up of four brotherhoods representing 400,000 railroad men threatening to stop the train service of the country. For months it was known that this strike had been planned. It was to come off in May or June, but was deferred. Why was nothing done in the meantime to meet the situation fairly, squarely and on the right lines? Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right and this was not settled right, in the emergency law hurriedly passed by Congress, that has staggered the nation.

These are some of the costs of watchful waiting to the American people.

Democratic Promises and Performances

"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.
"We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges."
—Democratic Platform, 1916.

WE accept the challenge of the Democratic Platform. We shall present some of the promises made by the party four years ago and show, as fairly and squarely as possible, how these promises were treated. The voters of the country have a right to know—every American has a right to know—how the Democratic Administration broke its promises and was false to its pledges.

A platform is more than a mere general statement of principles. It is a contract made between the American People, the party of the first part, and the political organization seeking election, the party of the second part. It means actually, just as truly as if it were written in contract form, that in consideration of election by the party of the first part, the party of the second part agrees to fulfill certain pledges made a part of the contract. The American People paid the consideration; the Democratic Party did not keep its pledges; it did not deliver the goods. It now puts forth a new platform; it wishes a renewal of the four-year arrangement; it claims to have kept its former contract, to have been faithful to its pledges.

There is a common assertion that "people don't read the platforms and they don't count, anyhow." We shall never have a real, sound, true Republic in this country until the people do read the platforms, until the people question them, until the people demand that platform promises shall be respected, until the people remember the platforms and hold party and officers-elect, whether in Nation, State or city, rigidly to account. A platform is made up of planks of promises. A promise is no less sacred when made to a hundred million people than when made to one individual.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF THE SINGLE PRESIDENTIAL TERM

"We favor a single Presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, making the President of the United States ineligible for re-election, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

Both these pledges were broken. No attempt has been made to amend the Constitution and the candidate elected in 1912 under this pledge is now seeking re-election.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF NON-INTERFERENCE

"We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the Federal Government —the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial—each keeping within its own bounds, and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

There has not been fulfillment of this pledge to preserve the separate, distinct entity of the three co-ordinate branches; one did encroach on another—the Executive encroached on and dominated the Legislative to a degree and in a manner unequalled in our history. The Executive forced through measures in Congress by pressure and personal methods not in the spirit of this pledge.

Whether the legislation were wise or not—the Income Tax, the Panama Tolls Act, the Child Labor Law, the Railroad Eight-Hour Bill, and others—matters not. The principle was wrong. The Executive has the right and the duty, under the Constitution, to inform the Congress and to suggest to it lines of needed legislation; the Congress, the legislative body, is to make the laws; the Judiciary, when called upon, is to adjudicate on these laws. The President has no more right to attempt to force a bill which he may personally favor through the Congress, than he has to attempt to get

some decision he desires through the Supreme Court. The highest legislative body of the United States should be held as sacred from undue interference as the highest judicial body. Many of the Democratic members of the Congress, with the courage of individual respect for their rights, spoke aloud their protest; others merely scowled, muttered, and growled. Speaker Clark said:

"No man here should he a 'rubher stamp' Congressman. I refuse absolutely to he either a 'rubber stamp' Representative or a 'rubher stamp' Speaker."

Senator O'Gorman, of New York, put it tersely in these words:

"If the Congress of the United States is to vote blindly with regard to great public questions, trusting alone to the Executive, and acting on his judgment, whether right or wrong, we invite a danger which may involve this country in grave peril and which may at any time produce a national catastrophe. No Senator questions the patriotism and high purposes of the President, but if legislation is to he made dependent upon his will alone, no one ean predict the mischief to which a precedent will expose this Government in future years. The welfare of one hundred millions of freemen cannot he dependent upon the judgment of one man. For the making of the laws of the Nation, Congress is responsible, and this responsibility cannot be evaded. The fathers of the Republic wisely placed a limitation on the power of the Executive, and these limitations cannot he disregarded without doing violence to the Constitution, which we have all solemnly sworn to uphold."

Congressman Moon, of Tennessee, said on the same subject:

"Let me tell you that no President, however great, however powerful, can, for the purpose of enforcing his policies, directly or indirectly, for a moment attempt to influence, according to his will, another co-ordinate hranch of the Government, without hringing his administration into disrepute."

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF SAFEGUARDING OUR INDUSTRIES

"We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country, and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

"That will not injure or destroy legitimate industry"—those were the words of the promise of tariff revision. That they were forgotten and ignored was shown in the industrial depression and disturbances in 1914 when millions of American workmen could not find employment and long bread-lines in many cities attested the hopeless sophistry of the Democratic tariff reformers and the emptiness of their promises. Were the lumber industry, the pottery industry, the wool industry, the sugar industry and a host of others that were injured and almost prostrated, not "legitimate"? The war demands were a blessing in disguise for the Democratic Administration in temporarily stimulating business activities so that the ravages of the Underwood Tariff on our industries have been to a degree obscured from the unthinking.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF PANAMA CANAL FREE TOLLS

"We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal."—Platform, 1912.

The President's bill to repeal the Panama Canal free tolls passed after much discussion and opposition. Senator O'Gorman, of New York, one of the many Democrats who realized the vote-getting power of this plank and the flagrancy of the broken pledge, said, as reported in the Congressional Record at the time of the repeal:

"I cannot stop to contemplate what would have become of Democratic prospects in the last Presidential campaign if the free-toll plank of the platform had been rejected or repudiated before the election; but it was not rejected. It was approved and pressed upon the attention of the public in every section of the country. Its economic advantages were pointed out by the nominees of the party and the thousands of public speakers who advocated their cause. It was given prominence in the campaign textbook which was distributed throughout the country by the National Democratic Campaign Committee, and yet it was as much a subsidy in 1912 as it is now.

"Let us not deceive ourselves, Senators. The free-toll plank was the one dominant American note in the campaign of 1912, and its value to the Democratic Party cannot be disparaged when it is recalled that the convention of the Progressive Party adopted the same plank, that the nominee of the Republican Party had already pledged himself to the same principle, and that 14,000,000 citizens of this country, by their votes, have declared their adherence to this principle. We are now asked to repudiate their declaration, to ignore their rights, and to treat them with a contempt to which American citizens will never submit.

"When we talk of national honor we may be suspected of insincerity if we do not recognize that a violated party pledge is the rankest kind of political perfidy. We surely owe at least the same good faith to the American people that we profess to feel for a foreign nation. A party platform should be regarded as a confession of faith by the party promulgating it and should be held sacred and inviolate."

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF CONSERVATION OF RESOURCES

"We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country."—Platform, 1912.

In the platform-making days of the summer of 1912, conservation was a very "popular" issue. Mr. Roosevelt, when President, had aroused the country to the realization of its vital importance at the Governors' Conference, called at Washington. The Democrats thought so well of conservation that they actually devoted nearly six hundred words to it in their Platform. Their promises were then a political asset; now, when broken, they have become a liability.

Aside from the Flood Control Bill, appropriating $50,000,000 for the control of the Mississippi River, nothing has been accomplished of the conservation pledges. Every one of the conservation measures, about which the Administration has been talking ever since it came into power, remains unpassed. These conservation bills include the land-leasing bill, the water-power bill, the general dam bill, and that for the leasing of coal, oil, gas and phosphate lands. So the undeveloped resources of the country remain "tied up," despite Platform pledges and the extravagant promises repeatedly made by the President, by Secretary Lane, and other Democratic leaders.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF JUDICIAL REFORMS

"We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the delays, expense and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

The question of the judiciary, a live subject in 1912, waned in interest in the years that have followed and the "urgent need of reform" never was met by the "enactment of such legislation." Just another broken promise—that is all.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT

"We believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

Burton Harrison, a New York lawyer, had never seen the Philippines before his appointment as Governor-General, nor had Arthur Yager, a college president of Georgetown, Ky., ever seen Porto Rico before his appointment as Governor. Whether Lucius E. Pinkham, a manufacturer and merchant, had bona fide residence in Hawaii, or J. F. A. Strong had bona fide residence in Alaska, before being appointed Governors of these territories, it seems impossible to determine, as biographic data of both

appointees are not readily obtainable. With sublime indifference to its broken pledge of 1912, the Democratic Platform cheerfully reiterates it in 1916.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF ECONOMY AND SIMPLICITY

"We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government."—Platform, 1912.

These two statements from the Democratic Platform of 1912 would be humorous in the light of our Sixty-fourth Congress were not the party's reckless extravagance and the treacherous defiance of its pledge given to the American people so ghastly serious. The veto of the President could have saved millions of dollars.

The Sixty-second Congress (1911-13) in which the Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, made regular appropriations aggregating $2,118,060,671, as compared with $2,054,584,510 appropriated by the Sixty-first Congress, and the total of appropriations, contracts, and authorizations reached $2,238,470,990, as compared with $2,151,610,940 by the Sixty-first Congress. This budget broke all previous records.

The Sixty-third Congress (1913-15) reached a grand total of $2,231,239,547.

In the Sixty-fourth Congress (1915-17), Senator Penrose declared in the Senate, on August 22, 1916, that the total regular appropriations of that session would aggregate $1,710,482,722, and the additional authorizations and commitments $636,644,977, a grand total of $2,347,127,699. Senator Smoot produced figures to show that the current session had appropriated, in bills passed and certain to pass, the sum of $1,630,383,682, which was $515,446,671 greater than the appropriations of the previous session; allowing for the increased appropriations on account of National defence, the net increase over the previous session would be approximately $150,000,000.

This grand total, $2,347,127,699, of the Sixty-fourth Congress, not in its full term but merely in its first session, is equal to more than one-sixth of the total receipts of the United States from customs for the 129 years from the beginning of the Government in 1789 to 1915, inclusive, and is over one-twelfth of the disbursements of the Government for the same period, excluding postal service, Panama Canal and public debt.

This riotous prodigality in the spending of the people's money, entrusted to the Democratic Party under its pledge of economy, did not escape the warning protest of many Democratic Congressmen who spoke in vain to unheeding ears. Hon. T. W. Sisson, Representative from Mississippi, said, as recorded in The Congressional Record:

> "The United States now owes nearly $3,000,000,000 upon which our people pay interest, and unless Congress calls a halt on appropriations we will have to add to our bonded indebtedness, and soon our children will be enslaved by the fortunate bondholding class. Let me appeal to Congress in the name of the masses who bear this great burden not to make the load heavier. Let me appeal to our great President and his Democratic Cabinet to aid and assist in carrying out the one plank that has always been in Democratic platforms from its birth. 'Economy in public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened.' This is the touchstone and true test of Democracy. Do you respect the man that toils? If so, let him keep what he earns. Do not take it from him in excessive taxation. Let us by legislation keep our pledges. This is the plain duty of the party to-day. Will we live up to it? If we will, the Democratic Party will have a long lease of power. If we do not, we will surely go out of power, as we should."

There is a certain suggestion of prophetic intuition in this closing sentence.

"The return to that simplicity and economy which befits a democratic government" can be seen in the figures of this illuminating table, showing the Democratic idea of the Simple Life in government. Here are the expenditures for six years, the first four being under President Taft, the latter years under President Wilson:

1910	$659,705,391	1914	700,254,490
1911	654,137,998	1915	731,399,759
1912	654,553,963	1916 estimated disbursements	716,891,000
1913	682,770,706	1917 estimated disbursements	832,951,000

The disbursements of the present year, as given, are $34,000,000 over the highest figures of the last four Republican years, denounced for "the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people." And the Democratic Platform of 1916 has the nerve and the unblushing impudence to say, without the slightest tremor in its voice: "We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government."

Do the American people wish to continue this appalling extravagance and to continue to pay the bills? They can answer this by their ballot on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in the month of November, 1916.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF REDUCTION OF USELESS OFFICES

"We demand a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

There would naturally be some increase in the number of offices as the Government growth might demand, but efficiency, bettered organization, and an earnest desire to fulfil a party pledge abolishing the "useless offices, the salary of which drain the substance of the people," would largely offset such increase. The Democratic Party do not call attention to any list of abolished useless offices; they do not "point with pride" in their 1916 Platform; they do not adduce as proof of the keeping of this pledge the 30,000 new offices created outside of the Civil Service at an annual cost of $44,000,000 to the American people.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF THE DEPOSIT OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS

"We pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit [Government funds] by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, National and State, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the Government."—Platform, 1912.

Nothing has been done in legislation for such deposit of Government funds.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

✤

THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF A SHIPPING WITHOUT BURDENS

"We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a Merchant Marine which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the South, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people, and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

The Sixty-fourth Congress passed the Shipping Bill, appropriating $50,000,000 to buy or to build merchant ships to be owned by the Government, which is to sell or lease or charter them to private parties or to form one or more corporations to operate them, and when unable to lease them to individuals or corporations, the Government is to operate them.

The whole scheme and plan of this Government ownership in which the Government competes with its citizens, has endless incongruities, fallacies, problems and complications not necessary here to detail; the important point to be made is, how does the appropriation of $50,000,000 harmonize with the pledge to encourage American shipping "without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury"?

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF REDUCTION OF COST OF LIVING

"The Republican Party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions of high cost of living, by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject

and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican Party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

The Democratic Party produced a new tariff, one that was not protective—not even protective against the high cost of living. They put many of the necessaries of life on the free list, duties on others were materially reduced and yet the cost of living did not come down and has not come down since. The promise implied in reduced cost of living, by tariff reduction, has not been fulfilled. But the decrease in revenue from customs receipts has added to the burden of the people and increased the cost of living by direct taxation made imperative to meet the tariff deficit and the demands of the enormous appropriations of the most recklessly extravagant administration the nation has ever known. The Democratic Platform of 1916 does not give as one of the achievements of the present administration the promised reduction in the cost of living.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF TARIFF FOR REVENUE ONLY

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party that the Federal Government, under the Constitution, has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

This fundamental principle of the Democratic Party has had to yield to expediency on the tariff question as in many other instances in the acts of the present administration. Tariff for revenue only had to sidestep for protection. In the administration Emergency Revenue Bill there is provision made for increased tariff rates on dyestuffs after the European war, to encourage the upbuilding of our dye industry. Surely this means—protective tariff. A section of the same bill is designed as a safeguard against the "dumping" of foreign goods into the United States at cheap prices after the war. Surely this means—protective tariff. The statements made in the present Platform (see numbers 161-163) surely mean—protective tariff.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF VALUATION OF RAILROADS

"To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just."—Democratic Platform.

There has been no such physical valuation made. This impractical plan was declared by experts to be useless because it would require many years to make such a valuation and when completed would be valueless because of the constant fluctuations and changes occurring during the process of making the valuation.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN CONGRESS

"It [the Democratic House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress] has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representatives of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing and perfecting remedial legislation."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

On April 8, 1913, at the special session of Congress, at the very beginning of the legislation of the administration, the Democratic caucus, by a vote of 167 to 84, decided that its sessions should be in secret behind closed doors. The full meaning of this action and the recognition of the breaking of a pledge was shown in the strong, honest words of Hon. Oscar W. Underwood, the Democratic Leader of the House:

"I regret, of course, that I differ with the President of the United States and that I am compelled to differ with many of my colleagues here. But I say to you if either you or I are to make a mistake in this matter let it be one mistake. Let us not today turn our faces against the principles we fought for; let us not close our ears against a battle-cry that first made a Democratic majority in this House possible.

"The majority of this House has the right to legislate, but the minority has a right to be heard and to propose reasonable amendments. When you deny that right to the minority, you deny it in the face of the action of the constituencies that sent you here. You are asked to foreclose your judgment on one of the most important questions that has ever confronted the American people before you have heard the debate and before you have seen the proposed amendments."

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF PUBLICITY OF APPOINTMENTS

"And we commend the Democratic House of Representatives for extending the doctrine of publicity from campaign expenses to recommendations, verbal and written, upon which Presidential appointments are made." Democratic Platform, 1912.

When this platform was written Publicity was a word to conjure with, a word that "muck-raking" had made popular. The trusts had been thoroughly lime-lighted and we were to have searching publicity in campaign expenses, campaign contributions, the doings and records of railroads and other public utilities and in other lines. The Democratic House was commended in the Platform for extending the doctrine of publicity to "recommendations, verbal and written, upon which Presidential appointments are made." By inference, by the clearly expressed commendation and endorsement of the party in its platform it was in truth and spirit a pledge though technically not so stated. How was it later regarded?

In the second session of the Sixty-third Congress a bill was passed creating an additional judgeship in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. Efforts were made in the House of Representatives to insert a provision to compel the President to make public the endorsements of his appointee to this judgeship. A roll call was demanded. Though the Democratic majority in the House was 145, the amendment was defeated by a vote of 145 against it and 137 in its favor; of the 145 members voting against publicity of recommendation of Presidential appointments, 101 were Democrats.

Another instance: The National Civil Service League of which President Wilson was at one time Vice-President, is a non-partisan organization of the highest character, which for thirty-five years has been devoted to the integrity of the Civil Service ideal. Complaints had come to the League during the past three years involving the charge that under an executive order of May 7, 1913, placing newcomers on the same footing as incumbents, fourth-class postmasters holding office were required to pass a competitive examination which in many instances, as charged, was merely to give the places of Republicans to Democrats. Other complaints have been made that old rural carriers have been turned out for the same reason. The League applied to the Federal Service Commission for access to the records of examination involving nearly 50,000 postmasters. This was refused though for thirty-five years, except for a short period in 1899, the League has had free access to these records. Repeated later efforts have been in vain. The reason given to the League as the basis of the refusal was that the access desired might lead to such criticism of the administration as would seriously embarrass it. The President supported the Federal Service Commission in its position.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF LOYALTY TO CIVIL SERVICE LAW

"The law pertaining to the Civil Service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability should be the standard of appointment and promotion rather than service rendered to a political party."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

The law has not been "honestly and rigidly enforced." In thousands of cases "merit and ability" have not been the standard of appointment. It would be difficult

to express in English a stronger, more clear, definite, and final statement of loyalty to the Civil Service Law. The President had formerly been a Vice-President of the National Civil Service League; he had talked strongly of the integrity and sacredness of the merit system; the Democratic Party was pledged to it and the American people had a right to expect and to demand that the promise be kept. Yet hardly was the new administration firm in the saddle than the raids on the merit system began in the interests of party spoils and political patronage.

At the special session of the Sixty-third Congress, at the very first important legislation it attempted, the Tariff Bill, a rider was made to this bill providing that the large force needed to administer the Income Tax Act be appointed under regulations of the Secretary of the Treasury. The President had authority to order them appointed under the Civil Service Law. He did not so order.

The Urgency Deficiency Bill had a rider removing from the classified service deputy collectors of internal revenue and deputy United States marshals. The bill became law.

The third big raid was on the Currency Bill. On the eve of its passage an amendment was offered directing that employees of the Federal Reserve Board be appointed outside of the requirements of the Civil Service Law. This barefaced indefensible piece of spoils grab was put to vote. There was a tie. The tie was broken and the amendment passed by the vote of the Speaker, the Vice-President of the United States. The President signed the bill.

Growing more ambitious the next assault was made on the Post Office Appropriation Bill by a rider removing all assistant postmasters from the classified service. The President and the Postmaster General short-stopped this attack. Just two months after he took office the President issued an executive order, the effect of which was to throw most of the fourth-class postmasterships open to competition in which newcomers stood an equal chance with incumbents.

The Democratic House, in the Indian Appropriation Bill, exempted over 100 physicians from the operation of the Civil Service but was defeated by the Senate. Fourteen important positions of commercial attachés credited to American ministers were next made independent of Civil Service Law and later the Trade Commission Bill exempted attorneys, experts and examiners of the new board from the merit system.

Now re-read the pledge at the head of this section, the smooth-sounding words referring to the law of Civil Service to be "rigidly and honestly enforced," this pledge of the administration, and then seek to realize that, in defiance of promise, honor, everything but patronage, it created thirty thousand offices outside of the Civil Service Law at an annual expense of forty-four million dollars to the taxpayers.

And in the face of all this, the Democratic Party, in its Platform of 1916, states: "We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service Laws."

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

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THE BROKEN PLEDGE OF PROTECTION TO CITIZENS

> "The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world. Every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States Government, both for himself and his property."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

The right of an American citizen to protection in life, person and property, in whatever spot on the globe he may be, is a fundamental right. It need not be written in the platforms of parties; they can neither add to nor detract from this inherent right; they can merely reiterate it. If this first duty of a government to its citizens be ignored, or non-fulfilled for any reason, then American citizenship is but a mockery. With no imputations on the desire, the purpose and the intent and effort of a certain kind on the part of the Administration, many of our citizens were not protected. This is the cold, hard, simple fact that the records show. How they might have been protected on the high seas and in troubled Mexico, it is not mandatory on any one criticizing the Administration to set forth. If a nation or an administration cannot protect its citizens, mere good intentions expressed in vain and inadequate effort are a weak defence against the charge of non-fulfillment of a nation's first, fundamental duty to its citizens.

—"Our pledges are made to be kept."—Democratic Platform, 1912.

"He Kept Us Out of War"

PUT any absurdity, any fallacy, in the capsule of an epigram and a large part of the people will swallow it without chewing. They will accept and believe, influenced either by desire or prejudice, without thinking, without testing it to determine its truth. The Democratic slogan "He kept us out of war" is hypnotizing thousands and in the minds of many is a sufficient reason for re-electing President Wilson.

He could possibly have kept us out of war only (1) if some other nation wanted war with us and was seeking a reason or an excuse, or (2) if we wanted war with some other nation, if in the heat of indignation and protest the American people or any large part of the people had demanded an appeal to arms to vindicate our national honor, and had been calmed and led by a cool head and a steady hand back to peace.

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Neither of these was true. (1) No nation wanted war with us. Both sides in the great struggle of European war wanted our sympathy, our moral support, but neither of them expected or desired us to enter the conflict. We could be of more service as the great neutral country. Germany had her hands full, and had only a problematic little to gain and much to lose if we entered the conflict. (2) America did not want war; even those that most earnestly pled for adequate preparedness did so only because they felt that this was the most likely way to secure peace, or that it would enable us to sustain if need be our words by our deed if war had to come.

What America wanted and what it did not get was a firm, bold, direct stand on our rights at the very first instance of their invasion, a calm, deliberate statement from our State Department that the United States must have our rights as neutrals travelling on the high seas respected and that the lives of our citizens must be protected, that recognition of and reparation for this first wrong to us must be made and repetition must be made impossible. It could all have been expressed in the guarded perfumed language of diplomacy but its meaning would have been unmistakable, its real meaning of American determination to protect its rights at any cost. At the time of the sending of this note there should have been instant action to begin preparedness, manifest to all the world, to back up what we said by what we were prepared to do.

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How was the first invasion of our rights met by the Executive and the State Department? The Secretary of State had negotiated treaties with many nations binding the United States to complete passivity in all circumstances for one year in case it claimed a grievance or a wrong that war might set right. The former arbitration treaties reserved questions involving "the independence, vital interests and honor" of the country. But under the new treaties we might suffer any wrongs, any insults, any invasion of our rights, any form that might drag our national honor through the mire, work any wrong to person, life or property of our citizens, and for a year we would stand it in a sweet, patient spirit and then have it decided by an arbitration board. The national conscience and the national ideals and honor were to be put in pawn for a year. The old maxim about counting twenty when angry was to be extended so that we would have a whole year for counting. Action taken at the end of that time would seem not the demand of outraged justice but a cool, calculating desire for satisfaction or revenge.

The Secretary of State further informed the Secretary of the Navy, it was reported at the time, that there would be no need for new ships or even for the old ones as there would be no war with any nation while he remained in charge of foreign affairs. President Wilson said about fifteen months ago:

> "The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not *merely* of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince by force that it is right."

The word "merely" has been italicized in this quotation to bring out its real meaning, its only meaning: that America would not fight under any circumstances.

When our rights as neutrals were invaded instead of the firm, dignified stand on our rights that would have been final, we put out diplomatic "feelers" of protest in a series of letters which made America the jest of Europe and which gradually grew stronger as the German notes revealed no desire of war with us. How could these messages affect Germany? What had she a right to think of them, taken in connection with the words of the President and the "too proud to fight" theory, the treaties of the Secretary of State and his declaration of no war while he was at work, the fact that Josephus Daniels was Secretary of the Navy, that we were absolutely unprepared even to quell a few big riots occurring at the same time, that our navy was inadequate, and that the American people did not want war and dreaded it. Germany had a right to believe it was diplomatic bluffing. What credence could be given to the high-sounding words about the "rights of humanity" when America had made no protest against the Belgium invasion, and when the American people were urged by the President to be neutral in act, word and thought and not to express their views? When Germany finally found America was in earnest, despite all the facts that misrepresented the American spirit and its determination to safeguard its rights, then Germany modified her submarine policy, much against her wish.

The firm assertion of our rights at the very beginning would have secured at first what the firm stand at the end accomplished, and there would have been no war. We should have been spared the humiliation of lost prestige and lessened honor abroad, the shame of having become the laughing stock of some nations and the recipient of the sorrowful disappointment and the lessened respect of others. Is there one single nation on earth where America stands as high as she did four years ago? This is part of the price we have had to pay, not for being "kept out of war," but merely to have some of our just demands granted grudgingly as a concession, not as a right.

If we were "kept out of war" in Europe, it was not by any firm, wise policy of President Wilson, but by the Kaiser himself, and the German people, who did not want war with us at that time. The whole policy of the administration was the very one that would have precipitated us into war had we been in danger of war.

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Now let us look at how we were "kept out of war" with Mexico:

The three years' story of interference, blundering, mistakes, ignoring of facts, shifting policies, inconsistencies, contradictions and bewildering changes could be told but poorly if all these pages were given to it; how little seems half a page! The same "watchful waiting" policy we had with Europe obtained in Mexico, but with intermeddling we would not have dared to venture there. The President refused to recognize Huerta, one of the ablest of Mexican generals, not on the ground of his inability to protect American citizens, but solely on account of his character, which, if satisfactory to Mexico, had no more to do with us than his complexion. Six of the Great Powers of Europe had recognized him, and taken the securities of his government, but the President refused such recognition even if Huerta were elected to the Presidency by the Mexican people, and determined to overthrow his authority, the only responsible authority in the whole country, and to substitute for his organization the constitutional form of government President Wilson thought Mexico should have, though the people were no more fit for it than a baby is for a bicycle. Here was unwarranted meddling and interference and intervention unprecedented in our history.

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Finally Huerta was worked out and, with him removed, the brigand Villa, an escaped jail-bird, became the presidential favorite and was helped till Carranza displaced him. The long, ghastly story it is impossible to tell here, but still "he kept us out of war," as the Democrats claim, while the "New York Sun" puts it concisely:

> Wilson kept us out of war! And he has spent $100,000,000 in doing so in the Villa episode alone. He is now spending from $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 a week. He has spent on keeping us out of war with Mexico altogether to date at least $250,000,000. It is estimated that he will spend at least $100,000,000 more. Besides the lives: Vera Cruz, Columbus, Carrizal, not to speak of Santa Ysabel and the thousand minor butcheries which cause the total bloodshed of peace with Mexico to exceed the total casualties of the Spanish War of 1898. And then the outraged women, the ruined men, the plundered property, the insults, the sufferings of disowned Americans. And the disgrace and discredit of it all in the eyes of the world. What a price to pay in treasure, blood and honor! But he kept us out of war!

The Truth About American Prosperity

THE year 1916 has been the most prosperous in the history of our country. The fact itself cannot be questioned—it is a matter of cold statistics that reveal great financial increases in many lines. Fourteen nations of the world have been engaged in the most awful war ever known since the beginning of time; their industries were disorganized, their millions of workers compelled to face the untold horrors of warfare in its worst phases; their normal needs they could no longer supply at home; their abnormal needs were sudden, colossal, imperious in their demand for quick answer in materials and manufactures of manifold variety.

The warring nations, in their hour of tragic need, turned to us, the greatest neutral country in the world, for a large part of their necessities. We, to a great degree, fed and clothed them, we lent them money on good security at high rates, and sent them much of their implements of war. Our resourcefulness was equal to the demand; we were well paid, with lavish hand, for our help and our service. The tide of the gold of Europe rolled westward to America; every industry felt the stimulus, activities that had been languishing were electrified into new life, lines of manufacturing of which we had done little were rendered important, colossal, and great new industrial plants, huge structures of steel and glass, covering many acres, sprang up in all parts of the country as if by the waving of some magician's wand.

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It was like the sudden, frenzied prosperity of some boom mining town, multiplied many million times. This country, because of a ghastly situation we did not create, because of the sorrows, suffering and struggles of our brothers in Europe, became the legatees of their need. The Democratic Party is now seeking in every way within its power to collateralize this fortune that has come to us because of the misfortune of Europe, as an administration asset, an administration triumph. They are setting it forth as one reason why President Wilson should be re-elected. The administration is no more responsible for it than for the law of gravitation or an eclipse of the sun.

With petty sophistries, bold assertions absolutely unsupported by proof, unfair juggling with facts and figures, misleading, unwarranted deductions and distortions that are calculated to deceive the unthinking, the Democratic Party, in its campaign books, leaflets and speeches, is seeking to win the votes of the American people on a false issue for their candidate. On one page the Democratic Text-Book seeks to show that our exports of over four thousand million dollars for 1916 is but a small part of our industrial activities anyhow; on another page it is seen in all its vastness, but it is "almost wholly due to the administration." The dice of their arguments, or, rather, their declarations without proof, always show sixes for the administration.

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The Democratic Campaign Handbook of 1916, in the chapter on "How We've Prospered Under Woodrow Wilson," with its sub-title, "All Records of Previous National Administration Pale into Insignificance," says, on page 151:

> "That the United States has been able to reap this splendid harvest—was ready to meet new and huge demands, both domestic and foreign—is almost wholly due to the wise reconstructive legislation enacted under the Wilson Administration. All unbiased authorities agree and other chapters of this Text-Book show that the Federal Reserve Act, the Underwood Tariff Act, the Federal Trade Commission Act, and other of the important legislation of the President's programme, equipped American capital and labor to take full advantage of this truly golden opportunity."

This is sheer buncombe, without the slightest real corroboration. These wild claims seem made on the basis of the common belief of many that if you say a thing with tremendous energy, in the strongest words, and keep on shouting it, someone will believe it. The legislation claimed to have "made it possible for the American people to take full advantage of this truly golden opportunity," was passed as follows: The Federal Reserve Act, September 18, 1913; the Underwood Tariff Act, October 3, 1913; the Federal Trade Commission Act on September 20, 1914. Why did these three acts not manifest their wonder-working power during the two years of business depression that darkened the country after the passing of the Underwood tariff? Why

did they not work their miracles then to bring prosperity instead of waiting till the good fortune was dropped into our laps at the command of war?

To show the vain boast of the prosperity of America as due to the Democratic administration, let us study briefly two pictures:

The Underwood Tariff Law went into operation in October, 1913, but for months before, when its passage was certain, depression spread over the country like a fog and grew into deeper darkness as factory after factory closed its doors, as mill after mill shut down, and industry after industry reduced its force, and that grim winter of 1913-1914, with its poverty, hunger and failure, was ushered in with its millions of unemployed, making it one of the hardest times of our history. The Democratic Party ignores this long period and seeks to concentrate attention on the present prosperity.

Business that had been in the strength of prosperity, under the Republican tariff, weakened and languished, securities fell rapidly in value, wages were cut, indebtedness increased, the Government revenues decreased, disaster spread over the land, and labor was in countless cases forced to receive from the hand of charity a dole to substitute for what it has proudly earned by its own energy. The years that followed were slow to recuperate. Fewer miles of railroad were built in America in 1915 than in any other year since 1864, and in the same year 41,000 miles of railroad, the greatest ever recorded in any year in our history, passed into the hands of receivers. The failures in business for 1914 were largest in liabilities ($357,908,859) of any year, and second in number (18,280) for over twenty-five years. The failures of 1915 were largest in number (22,156), and second in liabilities ($302,286,148) for any year of the same period. The administration was truly breaking financial records.

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Now for the second picture: The outburst of the Great War startled the world in 1914. The warring nations in the beginning fell back on their own resources and utilized their reserve; they were just beginning to realize what the war meant; they were taking account of stock, planning, getting ready heroically for a tremendous struggle. At first, our exports did not feel any great thrill, our business interests no real impetus, so our hard times continued. For the fiscal year 1915, ending in June, there was an increase in exports of about four hundred million dollars, orders were coming in and goods were being manufactured, but the real boom was manifest in 1916, when the foreign trade soared to $4,333,698,604.

The mills were sped up to full capacity, unskilled labor of the cheap grade was drafted into the service of making ammunition at double and treble its normal wage; plants devoted to machines of peace were remodeled and multiplied in acreage to make instruments of human destruction; every State in the Union felt the new thrill of prosperity, every industry caught part of the swell, either at the full tide or the wash from some big wave of a foreign order; labor was better paid because of the pressing needs. The miner, the farmer, the fisherman all prospered.

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It was not only explosives that were needed, though our six million dollar sale of these in 1914 was multiplied over seventy times in 1916. For direct use in war we sent locomotives, steel, automobiles, motorcycles, horses and mules, copper, cotton, barbed wire and plain wire, and woolen goods. We did our share in the feeding, too; our exports of meat of all kinds rose from 455,000,000 pounds in 1914 to 1,339,000,000 in 1916; the exports of fresh beef alone being thirty-six times as great in 1916 as it was two years before. In the first seven months of this year we exported over a billion pounds of refined sugar, an amount in excess of our exports of this staple for a quarter of a century from 1890 to 1914. Hundreds of others of our exports were due to the war through trade diverted from the fighting nations, or to supply through neutral countries those nations that could not receive them direct. The exports of brass and articles made from brass swelled from $6,000,000 in 1913 to $123,000,000 in 1916; cereals from $199,000,000 to $428,000,000 for the same years.

All materials needed in war or called for indirectly because of circumstances incident to the war helped to swell the account. Those exports that belong specially to times of peace show a sharp decline. All this proves the inane pretence and sham of the Democratic Party claiming the credit for our present great mushroom prosperity.

How Shall American Industry Be Protected?

FOR fifty-six years, since the nomination of Lincoln in 1860, the Republican Party has stood consistently, continuously, unflinchingly for a protective tariff that fulfilled the double function of safeguarding American labor and industries and of producing a large part of our Federal revenue. The wealth of the country from 1861, when the Republican Party came into power was about sixteen billion dollars; in 1912 it was one hundred and eighty-seven billion dollars. In the half century there was added one hundred and sixty billion dollars while free-trade England has been 500 years accumulating sixty billions. In this marvellous progress and prosperity the protective tariff played a large part. Whenever we have forsaken a protective tariff we have retrograded and had hard times, and the whole country has suffered.

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The Democratic Platform of 1916 says: "We have effected an adjustment of the tariff adequate for revenue under peace conditions and fair to the consumer and to the producer." "Adequate" implies that custom revenue with our regular internal taxes and other normal sources had paid the Government expenses. Even with the increase of imports greater than we have known in peace, with the income-tax introduced by this administration though it was originally intended only as an emergency measure for government financing, the revenue still was not adequate. We had war-taxes in time of peace, corporation income taxes, taxes on bonds, debentures, certificates, taxes on stock certificates, merchandise agreements, custom house receipts, warehouse receipts, taxes on parlor car seats and on sleeping car tickets, taxes on telephone and telegraph messages. For the first time in our history an inheritance tax was instituted, a tax of ten per cent. of the net profits of manufactures of ammunition. Then Uncle Sam reached his long arm and his hungry hand over the bowling alleys and billiard tables, over the land where some poor man was struggling for a living and he said: "This billiard table or this bowling alley must pay me five dollars a year." Pawnbrokers, ship brokers, custom-house brokers, theatres and moving picture shows were also taxed.

While the great nations of Europe are forsaking direct taxes, we are adopting them; while even conservative old England is forsaking free trade for protection on an elaborate scale we are forsaking protection. The Democratic Platform claims that their tariff "has assisted in making a new record for the United States for foreign trade with a huge balance in our favor." It could not help being so with our trade with the warring countries of Europe, tariff or no tariff.

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How comes it, however, that of the thirteen countries with which we traded in South America, in each of them, excepting one, the balance of trade was against us? Why did our imports for 1916 from these countries amount to three hundred and ninety-one million dollars and our exports to them aggregate only one hundred and eighty million dollars? Why did our imports for 1916 to South America increase more than seventy-five per cent. over those of 1914 and our exports to South America increase only to less than forty-five per cent.? Is it thus that we are building up a South American trade under the Underwood Tariff in this hour when the nations of Europe engaged in their awful war have left us a comparatively free field?

What of our wonderous prosperity when the dove of peace shall rest on the cannon of Europe? The nations have developed new solidity, new strength, new solidarity, and a new brand of superior efficiency; they will then mobilize their soldiers of war into soldiers of trade, and enter into a new war for the world's commerce on lines undreamed of heretofore. Will the Underwood Tariff Bill protect us then against the flood of cheap goods now held in reserve and waiting release? Will the pretentious, complicated, inadequate anti-dumping clause protect us? Will the non-partisan Tariff Commission, made up of five Democrats and one Republican, protect us? Will the party that claims to have made possible our present prosperity be the party that will best protect us? Their claims of protection are as empty as their boasts of our wonderous exports.

The Republican Candidate and His Record

TO fill the high and honorable position of President of the United States, ably, fairly, in the big way that the dignity, power, and responsibility of this office demand, requires a rare union of qualities. The Republican candidate, Governor Hughes, possesses, as shown in his public career, the very elements needed to fulfil all the duties of this position of exalted service to the nation and the people. Broad minded, a keen, analytic thinker, fearless and unchangeable when he knows he is right, and never acting until he is sure he is right.

The dominating element of Governor Hughes' mental and moral make-up, his fine sense of intellectual honesty, gives its impress to all his words and actions. It shows itself in his instinctive hunger to know, to see and to understand all the facts, all the details of any question before pronouncing judgment, studying the problem from every angle that might cast new illumination or fresh interpretation. What is right, what is true, what is just seem ever the tests of his thought and his acts. It is principle held superior to mere expediency, the guidance by knowledge of fact than of surrender to prejudice, and the ultimate test of justice as ever the determining factor in his judgment and the course of action it makes seem the only one to him. Whether a line of action he decides is right is likely to affect him adversely, injure his political fortunes, or block the way of ambition seems not to matter to him. He announces the weight as recorded by the scales of his judgment as a finality and abides by the decision. With him this is not a cold, intellectual, dehumanizing quality that keeps him aloof from his fellows; he is kindly, helpful, sympathetic and intensely human in a big, wholesome way.

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His handling of the Two-Cent Fare Bill in his first year as governor was typical of his mind and methods. It was one of those popular movements in legislation that sweep over the country like a tide; public opinion favored it in New York State and there was a strong general feeling against corporations. Popular demand had produced similar legislation in many States. Governor Hughes vetoed the bill limiting the passenger fare to two cents a mile on railroads. Pointing out that the bill had not been preceded by any investigation or suitable inquiry and was not based on official reports or statistics which demonstrated its justice, he said:

> "But injustice on the part of railroad corporations toward the public does not justify injustice on the part of the state toward the railroad corporations. The action of government should be fair and impartial, and upon this every citizen, whatever his interest is, is entitled to insist. We shall make matters not better, but worse, if to cure one wrong we establish another. It is of the greatest importance not only that railroad corporations should be compelled to respect their public obligations, but also that they should be permitted to operate under conditions which will give a fair return for their service. Nothing could be more opposed to the interests of the community as a whole than to cripple transportation corporations by arbitrary reduction of earnings."

That he was keenly alive to the rightful demands of labor, and secured those rights, is shown by the fact that during his two terms he signed 56 labor laws, including among them some of the best labor laws ever enacted, and these 56 enacted in his administration were equal to over one-third of all the labor laws passed in his state in the 133 years from 1777 to 1910. Yet, despite this fact, he had the courage not to consider the opposition he might incur when he vetoed the Full Crew Bill on lines of justice similar to his two-cent fare action. Labor could always count on what was just and fair at his hands, but not for what was unjust or unfair.

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As Governor his administration was wise, forceful, constructive on firm lines. He secured direct state control over every public service corporation, put through a thorough system of banking reform, urged electoral reforms, stood strongly for conservation, worked ably for better educational methods, and in all his acts made the good of the people his sole thought. As Associate Justice of the Supreme Court he had all the great problems of the country brought before him to be studied in their largest relations, not of narrow partisan policy, but of absolute justice—an excellent training school for the higher duties of the position for which he is now a candidate.

The Platforms Classified Under Subjects

THE platform planks are cut into single declarations, and these are numbered and classified, without condensation or change or abridgment. This arrangement practically establishes parallel columns on every issue and makes instant information and comparison easy.

The figures at the left of the page are the numbers of the declarations of the platforms to which references are made from the index.

The words following the declaration at the right of the page designate the platform from which it was taken as: Rep., Republican; Dem., Democratic. The number following the party designation is the number of the line beginning the separate declaration in the official platform furnished by the National headquarters of the party, and the line-number is inserted merely to show the authority for each declaration and its place in the platform.

PRELIMINARY DECLARATIONS

1	In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government and to the flag of the United States.	Rep.	1
2	We believe in American policies at home and abroad.	Rep.	6
3	The Democratic Party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.	Dem.	1
4	We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.	Dem.	8
5	We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation, with those of any party of any time.	Dem.	11
6	We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican Party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.	Dem.	14
7	We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.	Rep.	169
8	We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the Nation as well as of the States.	Dem.	312
9	With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion. Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration, far more than under any previous administration.	Dem.	316
10	In the Federal Reserve Act of the last Congress and the Rural Credits Act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, placing him at last upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises.	Dem.	323

11 Grades and standard necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established or are in the course of being established by law. Dem. 330

12 The long-needed Cotton Futures Act, passed by the Sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. Dem. 333

13 A Grain Grades Bill, long needed, and a Permissive Warehouse Bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress. Dem. 335

14 Both Houses have passed a good-roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities. Dem. 342

15 Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming. Dem. 345

16 But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created. Dem. 350

17 We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in farm marketing and finance for creating the Office of Markets and Rural Organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the co-operative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstration. Dem. 355

18 We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance, and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life. Dem. 362

AMERICANISM

19 Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. Rep. 251

20 The American spirit which made the country and saved the Union has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. Rep. 254

21 We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. Rep. 257

22 We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country, and, above all things, to keep the faith. Rep. 260

23 There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be welded into a mighty and splendid Nation. Dem. 111

24 Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare, or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature creates discord and strife among our people, so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust

which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and is disloyal to his country. Dem. 116

25 We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this Nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the Nation and its free institutions. Dem. 125

26 We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country, of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. Dem. 137

27 We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. Dem. 143

28 We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy. Dem. 147

29 The part which the United States will play in the new day of international relationships that is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. Dem. 97

30 The Democratic Party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the Nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. Dem. 100

31 It summons all men of whatever origin or creed who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. Dem. 104

32 In this day of test, America must show itself, not a Nation of partisans, but a Nation of patriots. Dem. 109

BANKING

33 Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster under Republican administrations—long the refuge of the Money Trust—has been supplanted by the Federal Reserve Act, a true democracy of credit, under Government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry and making a currency panic impossible. Dem. 23

CANDIDATES

34 We unreservedly indorse our President and Vice-President, Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall, of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially, and with distinguished ability. Dem. 527

35 In particular we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our Government and its citizens and kept us out of war. Dem. 532

36 Woodrow Wilson stands to-day the greatest American of his generation. Dem. 536

37 This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all nations of the world; and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country. Dem. 538

CITIZENS' RIGHTS

38 We reiterate our unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. Rep. 82

39 We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land. Rep. 88

40 We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the right secured to him by the Constitution, by treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. Rep. 7

41 These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain. Rep. 10

42 We again declare the policy that the sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad, and that no treaty shall receive the sanction of our Government which does not expressly recognize the absolute equality of all our citizens irrespective of race, creed or previous nationality, and which does not recognize the right of expatriation. Dem. 457

43 The American Government should protect American citizens in their rights, not only at home but abroad, and any country having a government should be held to strict accountability for any wrongs done them, either to person or property. Dem. 464

44 At the earliest practical opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe, and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell. Dem. 468

CIVIL SERVICE

45 The Civil Service law has always been sustained by the Republican Party, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. Rep. 216

46 The Democratic Party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices outside of the Civil Service law, at an annual cost of $44,000,000 to the taxpayers. Rep. 219

47 We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic Administration, and pledge ourselves to a reorganization along lines of efficiency and economy. Rep. 223

48 We reaffirm our declarations for the rigid enforcement of the Civil Service Laws. Dem. 444

CONSERVATION

49 We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the Nation—a husbandry which means development without waste; use without abuse. Rep. 213

50 For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our people we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative, a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development, but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly of their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, and we reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject. Dem. 299

51 The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to. Dem. 310

CORPORATIONS AND TRUSTS

52 The Republican Party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of transportation and great corporations of the country. Rep. 148

53 It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of Republican Congresses and Presidents. Rep. 151

54 For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the Government in business which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise, and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer, and in an inferior product. Rep. 153

55 The Republican Party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished. Rep. 160

56 But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic Party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. Rep. 162

57 The Republican Party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in all who seek to advance all American interests. Rep. 166

58 We have created a Federal Trade Commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws, so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Dem. 32

59 Fair competition in business is now assured. Dem. 35

60 The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. Dem 59

61 We must now remove, so far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity. Dem. 63

62 We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. Rep. 15

63 We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. Rep. 17

64 We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by the shifty expedients, by phrase making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters. Rep. 19

65 The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. Rep. 23

66 The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way, to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. Rep. 25

67 We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose. Rep. 26

FOREIGN RELATIONS

68 The Democratic administration has, throughout the present war, scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life, which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. Dem. 180

69 But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. Dem. 186

70 We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. Dem. 188

71 We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations. Dem. 194

72 The present Administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the Nation the principle that should be the object of any associations of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. Dem. 209

73 It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller states, even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these states for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. Dem. 214

74 It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. Dem. 221

75 It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action. Dem. 225

GOVERNMENT EXPENSES

76 The increasing cost of the National Government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for Government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of the Democratic Administration, of its shameless raids on the Treasury, and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft-repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple, business-like budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances. Rep. 201

77 We demand careful economy in all expenditures for the support of the Government, and to that end favor a return by the House of Representatives to its former practice of initiation and preparation of all appropriation bills through a single committee chosen from its membership, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication in the public service as much as possible avoided. Dem. 434

78 We favor this as a practicable first step toward a budget system. Dem. 442

79 Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year. Dem. 41

HEALTH

80 We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the Federal Government handles questions of public health, to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome disease, by the improvement of sanitation and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention. Dem. 422

81 We favor the establishment by the Federal Government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients. Dem. 428

INCOME TAX

82 We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Dem. 39

LABOR

83 We pledge the Republican Party to the faithful enforcement of all Federal laws passed for the protection of labor Rep. 232

84 We favor vocational education, the enactment and rigid enforcement of a Federal child labor law, the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all Government employes. Rep. 234

85 We favor the collection and collation under the direction of the Department of Labor of complete data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that legislation may be adopted to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation. Rep. 238

86 We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the working man the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. Dem. 44

87 We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right to trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside of the presence of the court. Dem. 47

88 We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the Nation are its greatest asset, and that in conservation of these the Federal Government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor, should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment: Dem. 373

89 1—A living wage for all employes. Dem. 380

90 2—A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven. Dem. 381

91 3—The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor. Dem. 383

92 4—Adequate compensation for industrial accidents. Dem. 385

93 5—The standards of the "uniform child labor law," wherever minors are employed. Dem. 386

94 6—Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race. Dem. 388

95 7—An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained. Dem. 391

96 We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the States with regard to labor within their borders; that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the Nation should be conserved. Dem. 395

97 We declare our faith in the Seaman's Act passed by the Democratic Congress and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement. Dem. 400

98 We favor the speedy enactment of an effective Federal Child Labor Law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce. Dem. 403

99 We favor the creation of a Federal Bureau of Safety in the Department of Labor to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings. Dem. 406

100 We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the Federal Bureau of Mines. Dem. 411

101 We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means already begun under the present Administration, to assist laborers throughout the Nation to seek and obtain employment, and the extension of the Federal Government of the same assistance and encouragement as now given to agricultural training. Dem. 413

102 We heartily commend our newly established Department of Labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents. Dem. 419

LATIN-AMERICAN REPUBLICS

103 We favor the continuance of Republican policies, which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial, and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin-America. Rep. 61

104 We recognize now, as we have already recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. Dem. 228

105 We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. Dem. 232

106 To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends. Dem. 237

107 We commend the action of the Democratic Administration in holding the Pan-American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Ayres, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere. Dem. 243

MERCHANT MARINE

108 In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine, and give up ships which may be requisitioned by the Government in time of National emergency. Rep. 175

109 We are utterly opposed to the Government ownership of vessels, as proposed by the Democratic Party, because Government-owned ships, while effectively preventing the development of the American Merchant Marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates. Rep. 184

110 Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Dem. 278

111 Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican Congresses. Dem. 280

112 Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation. Dem. 282

113 Until the recent banking legislation it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Dem. 284

114 Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a Merchant Marine it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea. Dem. 287

115 We heartily indorse the purposes and policy of the pending Shipping Bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be made to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets. Dem. 290

MEXICO

116 We deeply sympathize with the fifteen million people of Mexico who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, fellow-citizens murdered and their women outraged by armed bands of

desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace. Rep. 29

117 We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women, who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country, and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. Rep. 36

118 We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this Administration in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend, and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first by failure to act promptly and firmly, and second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages. Rep. 41

119 We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. Rep. 52

120 We promise to our citizens on and near our border, and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property. Rep. 53

121 The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly State. Dem. 258

122 Until by the restoration of law and order therein a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue. Dem. 267

123 Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last resort. Dem. 269

124 The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks. Dem. 274

MONROE DOCTRINE

125 We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny. Rep. 57

126 The Monroe Doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. Dem. 252

127 That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. Dem. 253

128 It implies as well the more scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them. Dem. 255

PENSIONS

129 We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows and call attention to our record of performance in this particular. Dem. 488

PHILIPPINES

130 We renew our allegiance to the Philippine policy inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Philippine people a constantly increasing participation in their government, and, if persisted in, will bring still greater benefits in the future. Rep. 65

131 We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization, and the Filipino people. Rep. 73

132 To leave with our task half done would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations and imperil what has already been accomplished. Rep. 75

133 We condemn the Democratic Administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats. Rep. 78

134 We heartily indorse the provisions of the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfilment of the policy declared by the Democratic Party in its last national platform, and we reiterate our indorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands expressed in the preamble of that measure. Dem. 446

POST OFFICE

135 We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system, and condemn the Democratic Administration for curtailing and crippling it. Rep. 172

136 We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added ten thousand rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one-half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch and for the first time in our history have placed the post office system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1915. Dem. 52

PREPAREDNESS

137 In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders, the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defense ready for any emergency. Rep. 96

138 We must have a sufficient and effective regular Army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes. Rep. 99

139 We must have a Navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. Rep. 102

140 To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic Party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to the country. Rep. 105

141 Along with the proof of our character as a Nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. Dem. 150

142 The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise, but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel

that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. Dem. 152

143 We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an Army fully adequate to the requirements of safety and to the protection of the Nation's rights; the fullest development of modern methods of sea-coast defense and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a Navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which this Nation hopes and expects to take a part in performing. Dem. 164

144 The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter. Dem. 177

PRISON REFORM

145 We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our Federal penal system. Dem. 475

146 We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles for the Federal Parole Law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of arrested offenders not convicted of serious crimes. Dem. 476

ROADS

147 The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life and the development of the city are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. Dem. 368

148 We, therefore, favor National aid in the construction of post roads and roads for military purposes. Dem. 370

SENATE

149 We favor such an alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the transaction of the Nation's legislative business. Dem. 431

TARIFF

150 The Republican Party stands now, as always, in the fullest sense for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute. Rep. 111

151 Such protection should be reasonable in amount but sufficient to protect adequately American industry and American labor and be so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. Rep. 115

152 It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States, as in the case of dyestuffs. Rep. 118

153 Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to National defense. Rep. 121

TARIFF

154 The Underwood Tariff Act is a complete failure in every respect. Rep. 124

155 Under its administration imports have enormously increased in spite of the fact that the intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced. Rep. 125

156 Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war, it was clearly demonstrated that this Act deprived the American producer and the American wage-earner of that protection which enabled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward. Rep. 130

157 It has not in the least reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. Rep. 138

158 The welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory. Rep. 140

159 We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff. Rep. 145

160 We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the Government, economically administered, and unreservedly endorse the Underwood tariff laws as truly exemplifying that doctrine. Dem. 67

161 We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade. Dem. 71

162 Two years of war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world, and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. Dem. 78

163 In order to ascertain just what these changes may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a non-partisan Tariff Commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on. Dem. 83

164 We cordially indorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with established facts rather than in accordance with the demands of selfish interests or upon information provided largely if not exclusively by them. Dem. 90

165 We have effected an adjustment of the tariff adequate for revenue under peace conditions and fair to the consumer and to the producer. Dem. 37

TERRITORIAL MATTERS

166 Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican Party, we hold that officials appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona fide residents of the territory in which their duties are to be performed. Rep. 223

167 It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic Party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources. Dem. 517

168 We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico the traditional territorial government accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe the officials appointed to administer the government of those several territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence. Dem.

TRANSPORTATION

169 Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public. Rep. 191

170 The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution, as will result in placing it under complete Federal control. Rep. 196

WATERWAYS

171 We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. Dem. 492

172 The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below and diversion, storage and control of the flood-waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to contine as heretofore agents of destruction. Dem. 493

173 We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service, and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the National Government. Dem. 502

174 We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft. Dem. 512

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

175 The Republican Party, reaffirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself. Rep. 245

176 We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by States upon the same terms as to men. Dem. 454

✤

America's True Place Among The Nations

I DESIRE to see our diplomacy restored to its best standards and to have those advanced; to have no sacrifices of national interest to partisan expediencies; to have the first ability of the country always at its command here and abroad in diplomatic intercourse; to maintain firmly our rights under international law; insisting steadfastly upon all our rights as mutual and fully performing our international obligations, and by the clear correctness and justness of our position and our manifest ability and disposition to sustain them to dignify our place among the nations.—Gov. Hughes.

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